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Sep<sup>r</sup> 2. Cameron, Daniel, for eight days pay as a Militia Man to the 30th Aug., —. 10. 8.

3. Cocke, Capt. John H., for pay & rations of his Comp<sup>r</sup> o Surry Militia ₧ acco', 69. 15. 11.

5. Comer, John, for a Gun furnished Capt. Tho. Bartlets Militia Comp'y ₧ Cer', 2. 15. —.

8. Craig, John, for Waggon hire with Spotsylvania Militia ₧ acc', 11. —. —.

Crutchfield, Stapleton, for Bacon furnished Ditto ₧ acco', 45. 7. 6.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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**Papers Relating to the Administration of Governor  
Nicholson and to the Founding of William  
and Mary College.**

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[A manuscript volume in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society has the following on the first page:

“Papers concerning a difference between Governor Nicholson and some of the Council, also concerning the College of William & Mary, copied from documents in the Archives of the State of New York (Volume LI).

“Presented to the Historical Society of Virginia by their corresponding member,

“B. FERNOW.

“Albany, Nov. 1, '82.”

These papers consist of letters between Francis Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, and Rev. James Blair, the chief agent in the founding of William and Mary College, and its first president, various depositions, proceedings of the Council and House of Burgesses, and other papers bearing on the history of the period, 1692–1705, and especially on the differences between Nicholson and Blair, and the same Governor and the Council. They were probably collected by Nicholson as a history and defence of his administration, and various documents have been annotated by him. Nicholson was utterly unscrupulous in regard to the charges he made—indeed no great importance should be attached to any defamation of that period. A char-

acteristic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which all students of the time are aware of, is the curious absence of any sense of responsibility or regard for the truth, when an enemy was to be attacked. Cases occur repeatedly in the court records of the period, not only in the Colonies but in England, where a man would make most scurrilous charges, and then, when brought to trial, promptly and publicly confess that all of his statements were false. Notwithstanding this fact these notes will be printed in full, except in a few instances where the language is too indecent for our pages.

Francis Nicholson (1660-1728), who was knighted after he left Virginia, entered the English army in early life, and in 1686, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New York, where he became very unpopular. Deserting his post at the time of an insurrection, he returned to England, and was not long after appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, taking his seat October 16, 1690. During his first administration he created a very favorable impression, and showed much interest in the welfare of the Colony, and especially in the establishment of a college. He was relieved by Andros October 15, 1693, and in January, 1694, was appointed Governor of Maryland. Here, again, as in New York, he made himself very unacceptable, and was removed, becoming again, unfortunately for Virginia, Governor of this Colony December 9, 1698. This administration was a continued contest with the Burgesses, the Council, the vestries, and Dr. Blair. If half the charges of his injustice, oppression and violence were true, he was at times evidently quite mad. The best known and most picturesque instance is that of his courtship of Miss Burwell, during which he threatened wholesale slaughter of all who might in any way prevent him from winning the lady. At last he was removed by the King in April, 1705. For fifteen years after he left Virginia he was engaged in military service, and in 1719 was appointed Governor of South Carolina, where he is stated to have somewhat retrieved his reputation. He died March 5, 1728.

James, Blair, D. D., was born in Scotland (it is believed in Edinburg), in 1656, and was educated at one of the Scotch Universities. In 1685, Bishop Compton of London, sent him to Virginia, and for nine years he was minister of Henrico parish. In

1689 he was appointed Commissary of the Bishop of London. Being "deeply affected with the low state of both learning and religion" in Virginia, he became greatly interested in the establishment of a college in the Colony, and set on foot a subscription which soon amounted to £2,500. Governor Nicholson actively supported the project before the Assembly of 1691, and Blair was sent to England to obtain royal support and a charter, which was granted. It was dated February 14, 1692, and Dr. Blair was chosen President of the College. There is no space here to enter into any account of Blair's frequent disputes and long wrangles with Andros, Nicholson and Spotswood, and with various private individuals. Bishop Burnet, who knew him, says (*History of His Own Times*) he was "a worthy and good man." Whitfield, in his diary under date December 15, 1740, writes: "Paid my respects to Mr. Blair, Commissary of Virginia. His discourse was savoury, such as tended to the use of edifying." Dr. Blair was the author of a work on "Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount," 4 vols., 1722. It went through several editions and has been highly commended. He was long member of the Council, and as President of that body was Acting Governor of Virginia from June, 1740 to July 25, 1741. He married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Harrison, of "Wakefield," Surry county, and died April 18, 1743, leaving no issue. By will he left £500 and his library to the college, and £10,000 to his nephew John Blair, afterwards President of the Council. Dr. Blair's epitaph is printed in Vol. XI, *Va. Hist. Collections*, p. 92.

Much information in regard to Nicholson's administrations, Dr. Blair, and founding of the College is contained in Perry's Historical Collection, American Colonial Church, Vol. I—Virginia. See also Meade's Old Churches and Families of Virginia, I, 149-165; Charges of Members of the Council Against Governor Nicholson (*Va. Mag.*, III, 373-382); Instructions to Nicholson (*Virginia Magazine*, IV, 49); Proceedings of Visitors of William and Mary College (*Va. Mag.*, 161-175); Burning of William and Mary, 1705 (*Va. Mag.*, VI, 271-277); Early Presidents of William and Mary (*William and Mary Quarterly*, I, 63-75); Character of Instruction of William and Mary (*Ib.*, VI, 176-187); Students at William and Mary in 1764 (*Ib.*, VI, 187-

188); Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary (*Ib.*, I, 130, 214; II, 50, 122, 208, 256; III, 60, 128, 195, 256; IV, 43); Papers Relating to the Founding of the College, from the British Public Record Office (*Ib.*, VII, 158-174), and The Historical Catalogue, 1859, 1874. There is in the Virginia State Library a copy of the edition of 1859, with many manuscript additions by Prof. R. L. Morrison.

The captions of the papers in square brackets have been added by the Editor. Nicholson's notes have been placed in quotations.]

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#### MEMORANDUM FOR THE BISHOPS OF LONDON.

1. To ask advice concerning the quakers how we shall manage them? [See note at end of article.]
2. Concerning the Ministers that wont take the Oath of Allegiance to king Wm. & Mary & Some that Won't pray for them by name.
3. Concerning dissenting Ministers & school Masters whether to be tolerated?
4. How far Ecclesiastical Govern't & discipline shall be executed?
5. To take advice about Ministers Salary? To procure Instruct<sup>r</sup> from their Maj<sup>ties</sup> about it, & if their Maj<sup>ties</sup> grant any fav<sup>r</sup> to the Country that at the same time they may demand some thing to be done for the Clergy. If any thing be done this way by an Imposition on Tobacco, except the same be in Maryland & Carolina the Country cant comply with it.
6. Concerning the smallness of many parishes & the badness of the pay.
7. Concerning the ministers neglecting the dutys of catechising, Administering the Sacrament & burials, confirmation & consecration of churches.
8. In Maryland & North Carolina & some remote parts of Virgina whether any encouragement might be allowed to itinerant ministers?
9. Concerning a Commissary that it is absolutely necessary to have one to inspect the Clergy, tho' he cant do all at once, to try to get a salary ascertained for him out of the Quit Rents at

least a hundred pound p. ann. where he must leave, whether near the College.

10. of the great scarcity of Ministers & schoolmasters. Enquire concerning the right of Patronage which is pretended to be by the Vestry. Obtain a clear direction in that matter.

11. Towards the endowm't of the College, try to obtain a gift of the penny p. pound on Tob<sup>o</sup> which turns so little to his Majesties Interest. The Collect<sup>r</sup> having one half & the Comptroler a quarter, & all the charges falling on the Kings quarter, purposes that the Collect<sup>r</sup> do collect it for ten p. cent. or at most a quarter, & give in their accounts upon Oath to the College, as the Comptroler Swears them now before the Gov<sup>r</sup>. Represent how this business is overlooked in Maryland: And that the College will see that the Act be more strictly executed since their own Interest will be joined with their Majesties if this gift be granted to them, Try if the surveyor general's place may be obtained for the College, which will be a great encouragement to the study of Mathematics when Survey<sup>r</sup>'s bred there are preferred.

12. Towards the said endowm't endeavor to obtain 10,000 acres of Land on the South side of Blackwater and as much in Pamunkey Neck erected into Free Baronys to pay to coppys of verses yearly for the Quit Rents.

That all escheated Lands & States not coming under the Charter may be given to the College.

13. The same of forfeitures of persons dying by accident, of which their Majesties now get little or nothing.

14. Say if their Majesties will bestow the Patronage of some churches on the College.

15. If Towns go forwards that a Schoolmaster be maintained in every town at least for teaching to read English & writing. A small encouragem't to the Parish Clerk or reader may perhaps enable him to keep such a school.

16. Try to get a good part of the Quit Rents for maintaining the Clergy or College; rather the Clergy for the College will be sooner supported from the Country,

17. Represent the miserable condition the Clergy will be in as they increase having no vote in the Govern<sup>t</sup>. E: G: How near they were from being debarred from any Ecclesiastical Discipline this assembl. having none to represent them in neither house &

particularly the dangers of this at present if the Govern<sup>t</sup> should fall into the hands of the Council for remedy, whereof it seems at pres<sup>t</sup> absolutely necessary that one or two of the Clergy be upon the council. And if so enquire how these Clergymen shall behave themselves in the generall Courts which consists of the Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council & how they shall sign any publick papers. That for supporting this dignity the Bishop of London's Comissary and the President of the College who will have the best Salaries & the greatest authority seem to be the fittest.

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[NICHOLSON TO BLAIR.]

Mr. Comissary Blair,

S<sup>r</sup>: I desire you to represent & to enlarge upon all these things to my Lord Bishop of London & to ask his advice & direct<sup>n</sup> in them, as also to give his Lordship an Account of everything else belonging either to the Ecclesiastical or Civil State of this Country, you being a person whom I judge very capable of doing it. Represent that Coll. Page (who was left out of the last Commission of the Council, whether by mistake or otherways) was the only man who opposed the Commission sent you in by my Lord Bishop of London & a cunning man who I fear has underhand encouraged others to raise a great clamour against that Commission, that hum<sup>r</sup> breaking out most in ye Country wr. he lives & therefore endeavour that he may have his quietus as being a very old & infirm man & may not be restored to the Council & that his collectors place may be conferred upon Col. Milner, speaker, which will deter others of the Council from appearing against the Bishop of London's Authority.

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"These memorand<sup>m</sup>, &c., are what was given to Mr. Comissary Blair when he went to England about the College, &c., affair & the rough of them under his own hand are in the Custody of ———."

"MEMORAND'M."

"I think I writ a Lett<sup>r</sup> to Mr. Comissary Blair on the 17 of June, 1691, to this effect: That I had forgot to speak to him about employing some good Lawyer that the Charter might be

strong & firm, that their Maj'ties Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> & Solicitor were to be employed, but I particularly recommended to him Mr. Robert Sawyer & Mr. Finch, because they were great Lawyers and Church of England men & were every way qualify'd for him to make use of & that I supposed they would take little or no fee, but that they must be proferred suitable to their character. That I recommended to Mr. Blair that if I stayed alone that he would send me a good, Ingenious, single man to be minister of James Citty, & that it should be endeavoured to be made comfortable to him by."

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[BLAIR TO NICHOLSON.]

From Linhaven Bay, June 19, 1691.

May it please your Hon<sup>r</sup>:

I have received your Honour's of the 17th and shall be mindfull, God willing, of your advice about the Lawyers, as also of your desire concerning a minist<sup>r</sup> for James Town. I doubt not were there any assurance of your Hon<sup>r</sup>s Continuance in that Parish, but that a minist<sup>r</sup> might live very happily there. I am not conscious to myself of any deserts from the Country, except that I am a most hearty well wisher to it, & if it lay in my weak power to do it any service, I would willingly sacrifice my own interest for it, And I confess that which chiefly animates me to make any attempts for its good is, that I am mighty sensible if ever we prosper, now is the time, when we are so happy in your Honour's good Conduct & Governm<sup>t</sup>. Your health & happiness not only as you are a noble & kind friend to myself, but as you are publick Benefactor to this poor country & a Person, I am persuaded, raised by God for the making of it, shall ever be prayed for with all humility & earnestness by Sr.,

Your Hon<sup>r</sup>s most obliged & most faithfull Servant,

JAMES BLAIR.

This morning the wind presents fair & the sign is given for weighing. We hope to sail now at last but are very doubtfull, perceiving what slight occasions have served turn to keep us here. Mr. Smith gives his humble service to your Hon<sup>r</sup>. I do most thankfully accept of your Hon<sup>r</sup>s kind proffer to me & must



intreat your favour if it should please God that I dye in this service & my poor wife be called to account by the Assembly.

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[BLAIR TO NICHOLSON.]

London, Decemb<sup>r</sup> ye 3rd, 1691.

I find there will be a great deal of difficulty in finding of able Masters & yet I am sensible the life of the business lies in this. In England their Masters of their Colleges have a much easier life than is designed for the Masters & Professors of our College in Virginia. I can have severall young men that are fitt enough to be Ushers but can't perswade any of the Eminent Experienced Masters to go over. I have two in my eye that are very fitt for it, if I can prevail with them to undertake it.

There was one thing that was forgot in my Instructions (& 'twas my fault, for I was not sensible of the necessity of it at this time), that is, that I should have been ordered to provide a President of the College at the same time with the School Master & Usher. I thought that at first a Grammar school being the only thing we could go upon, a good school Master & Usher were enough to manage that. But the Bishop of London & some other Bishops & a great many other skillful men whom I have consulted, have undeceived me & perswaded me that the President of the College ought to be the first man of all the Masters we provide for it; their reasons are these: 1. That the good success of ye whole business depends upon the setting up & executing of a good discipline at first, both among the Masters & Scholars, which if it be left wholly to the School Master he will be sure to make it easy enough for himself & will contrive to lead the scholars in such a method as will keep them a great deal longer at school than they needed to be kept, only for his own advantage; most of the Masters here in England keep their scholars seven years at the Latin which might be as well taught in four if they pleased. 2. It may so happen that the School Master & Usher may want as much to be inspected as the scholars themselves, viz: That they keep certain & good hours for teaching; that they teach no bad books; that they be not remiss in censuring of faults, & w<sup>th</sup> is as common, that they be not too severe & rigid; that they themselves give a good example &

that they take the most expeditious means of teaching, &c. For all which things they say it is as necessary that they be under the constant direction of the President of the College. 3. If this School Master or Usher should be taken sick, it is necessary that the President of the College should supply the place, or else we must expect not only the loss of their learning but an utter breach of all Govern<sup>m</sup> and discipline & a time of misrule w<sup>th</sup> might prove the occasion of more mischief to the scholars & college than a President's salary is worth. Besides the overseeing of ye buildings, housekeeping, managem<sup>t</sup> of the Revenue, Library, domestick discipline & sev<sup>n</sup> other things for w<sup>th</sup> they say a President is necessary in the beginning. And I must confess there is a great deal of sense in what they say & it can't be denied that a President in ye beginning would be both a great security & Credit to the whole design, which will stand or fall according to the first good or bad measures they take & the first name & Reputation that it has in the world. And therefore if they would have a President from England let me have an Instruction about it, & I will use the utmost of my diligence to procure a man fitt for so great a trust. But if it be thought that I or any other person there can be fitt to supply such a place, they may save themselves the trouble of writing, together with the 50<sup>£</sup> for Transportation. To use all freedom with your Hon<sup>r</sup> now that I see that not only the design of a College in Virg<sup>a</sup> but y<sup>t</sup> this particular draught & scheme of it has passed the strictest examination of the best Judges here & has mett with a general approbation, I am more desirous than ever to see it brought to perfection, & tho I never sought a place in my whole life time, I could find in my heart to seek this, being well assured that tho (if we could perswade them to go to Virg<sup>a</sup>) there are many men in England much fitter for it upon the account of Learning, prudence & authority, yet perhaps there is none to be found that has a greater zeal for the Country, or that is more concerned in point of honour to see this work prosper than I am. But I am afraid my zeal carries me beyond the bounds of discretion, I could now dash all this out again, only that I remember I am writing to a person that will make no bad use of what I say & will let it live or dye according as he finds it may be an help or an impediment to that excellent work we are carrying on; only

this I must likewise tell your Hon<sup>r</sup> in my own justification, y<sup>t</sup> this is no proj<sup>t</sup> of mine. I was put upon it by the Bishops of Salisbury & Worcest<sup>r</sup> & have had it frequently urged by Dr. Horneck & severall other well wishers to our college, & I never begun to give ear to it till I took notice of the vast difference there is between the contrivance of our Virginia College & all the Colleges I can hear of here in England, for here I can find nothing but public Halls, where Readings are made with open doors & the scholars come or stay away at their pleasure, & when they do come they have no part at all in the business that is done there, & indeed for aught that I can see if it were not for the diligence of the Private Tutors, more than any benefit they reap from the Professors' Lectures, it were utterly impossible that ever the scholars here in England could come to anything. But in Virg<sup>a</sup> where we can't expect so much Revenue as would be necessary for founding of fellowships for ye Tutors, it will be absolutely necessary that the Professors go another way to work. I mean that besides their Readings they daily examine their Scholars, prescribe them tasks, hear them dispute, try them in all manner of Exercises & wait upon them as punctually as a School Mast<sup>r</sup> doth upon his School boys, or an Artisan upon his Apprentices, tho in their way of treating them they must use them with a decent Liberty & friendship according to their age and discretion. Now the charge & burthen of carrying on all this will lay upon the President, & they make me afraid if we take a man from either of the Universitys who never saw any such Institution, but has been accustomed to a much more easy & idle way, that he will never bear it & will not at all be fitt for such a small College as ours will be.

But it is time to make an end of this tedious long letter. I pray God direct them for the best & if my endeavours can contribute anything to the perfecting of so good a design they shall never be wanting, for really I have a great deal of credit & comfort by what is already done & I question not but if the design which is laid be well finished, we shall have as pretty a Seminary for Learning & virtue as is in all Europe. The part your Hon<sup>r</sup> has acted in it is exceedingly commended; But this I must make the subject of another letter wherein I design to give you an account of what I know of your Circumstances at Court; In the

mean time praying for your health & the success of all your  
good designs for that poor Country I take leave & am S<sup>r</sup>,

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> most obliged humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

JAMES BLAIR.

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[BLAIR TO NICHOLSON.]

Gosport, April 20th, 1693.

S<sup>r</sup>:

I have received sev<sup>l</sup> of yours directed to Cows & Portsmouth for which I humbly thank Your Hon<sup>r</sup> for next to your own Company your letters are the most acceptable. I am sensible how Zealously you have been laying out your time & pains for the service of Virg<sup>a</sup> in soliciting the dispatch of this fleet, which I hope now will sail the first fair wind. While we stay I shall trouble Your Hon<sup>r</sup> with a line at least once a week. I hope you will continue the same good endeavors for Virg<sup>a</sup> & if it lyes in your way will embrace opportunity of doing me what kindness with our good Bishops you can without too much trouble. The arch Bishop (whom I have found most punctual to his word upon all occasions) told me that the King said he would order my designed Salary of a hundred pound as Comissary to be paid some other way since they made such a Clamour against paying it out of the Quit Rents & his grace was pleased to add that he would take care to see it done, so that if I had not been so hurried at last as I was I might have hoped to have brought it to some thing. I only tell your Hon<sup>r</sup> this that you may see there is a good foundation to work upon if ever you should have an opportunity of discoursing the arch Bishop on this subject. Pardon this trouble which I protest I did not think on when I began this letter (as you may guess by the little bitt of paper I took to write on) only the necessity of my Condition having brought me very considerably in debt since I came last to England\* is ever & anon troubling me with Impertinent thoughts of

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\* "In margin. Mem'm. How could the necessity of his condition bring him very considerably in debt since he came last for Eng<sup>d</sup>, who by his acct. made up w<sup>th</sup> ye assembly, he had received 8 lb., 9 s., 6 D. more than he charged in his very extraordinary & extrava<sup>gt</sup> account, and may be an unjust one, some articles of which were not true, sure

myself & wishes that I were at least in such circumstances as to be clear of the world, that I owe nothing to no man but common Love & Charity.

I know they are all sensible how unreasonable a thing it is that I should bear all the burden and charge too without any consideration, and who knows but that it might be easier now during some men's absence who was always my enemys & during the Queen's Administration, who was always inclined most favorably in this matter to obtain some order if you thought it proper to suggest it. But I perceive I forget myself & that I am writing to a Benefactor that has always minded my Interest more than I have done myself & therefore again I hope you will look upon this as a piece of Unpremeditated impertinency & do as you think fit & as the Circumstances of things do present. I pray God for your health & for our happy meeting in Virg<sup>a</sup> & am with the greatest sincerity S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most obliged humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

JAMES BLAIR.

I will take care to write to Mad<sup>m</sup> Mathews as you desire.

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#### THE POSTSCRIPT OF ANOTHER LETT'R.

Mr. Perry sent me in lately the Coppy of an order of the Queens for a hundred pounds to be paid out of the Quit Rents. Your Hon<sup>r</sup> has added this to all your other kindnesses for which I can but return thanks, for I shall never be able to return them. I have made no use of the Coppy being told that it is good for nothing without the originall. I wish if possible an order could be obtained once for all concerning the Comissary's salary during pleasure, for I doubt I shall be put to very great trouble & charge to have it renewed every year. I put Mr. Bowlin in mind of an Indian for your Hon<sup>r</sup>, but he has not yet found any to his mind.

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he will not say yt. he ran himself in debt on account of not charging ye articles of ad purfundus Renes, but he might be in debt for a cargo or box for himself & wife to keep store with in Virg<sup>a</sup> as they used to do."

[BLAIR TO NICHOLSON.]

Virg<sup>a</sup>, January 2nd, 169¾.

As to the College tho nothing was done for its encouragement in comparison of what might have been expected had you been here, yet we reckon it is well that it is no worse; the place for scituating the College is now appointed to be at Middle Plantat<sup>n</sup> & an Imposition of seven & a half per cent. on skins & furs exported is given forever to the College, according to the advice of the Lords of the Comitty for Plantations, & an address of thanks is returned to their Maj'ties for their goodness to ye Country in the matter of the College. They did also take in my Accts. & allowed them & ordered me 250 pounds in consideration of my time & pains in soliciting the affair in England. In my Accounts I made them Debtors to your Hon' for the 360 pound spent in passing the Charter, &c. The other 100 pound which was advanced to the Master & Usher & some others uses for the College I charged to the College Acct. The first 360 the Assembly has ordered to be thankfully repaid to your Hon' & I doubt not you will have an account of it from your Attorney Coll. Hartwell. The other 100 must pass in part of payment of your bountifull Donations to the College.

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 [RECEIPT TO NICHOLSON.]

July ye 19, 1694.

Received of his Excellency Francis Nicholson, their Majesties Governour Gen<sup>l</sup> of Maryland, one hundred pounds, it being a part of his Excellency's gift to the College of King Wm. & Queen Mary in Virginia.

WILLIAM BYRD, Treasurer.

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 "MEMORANDUM."

"Mr. Comissary knew y<sup>t</sup> by one of the Royall Instrucons y<sup>t</sup> no minister was to be preferred to any Ecclesiastical benefice w<sup>th</sup>out a Certificate from ye Right rev<sup>d</sup> father in God, ye Ld. Bp. of London, &c. But to serve a turne for his Interest y<sup>t</sup> Instruction might be dispensed with but how he will gett a Dis-

pensation for his having told so many untruths & haveing swore so largely Contrary to Records & Liveing Testimony it is supposed it will be a difficult thing for him to obtaine, Except he has it of the Jesuits or Knoxonians.

“This to be put after the postscript ab<sup>t</sup> Mr. Peckman.”

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[PETITION OF BLAIR TO ANDROS.]

To his Excellency S<sup>r</sup> Edmund Andros, Their Maj<sup>t</sup>ies Lieutenant & Gov<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> of Virginia, And the Honorable the Council of State, And To the Worshipful the House of Burgesses.

The Supplication of James Blair, Clerk, Humbly Sheweth:

That your Petitioner hath by an order of the Assembly of this Dominlon Sollicited the business of a free school & college at the Court of England & with no small Labor & charge obtained an ample Charter from their Maj<sup>t</sup>ies for erecting & endowing the same.

And therefore humbly prays that the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly may be graciously pleased to take in your Petitioners Accounts & to consider him for his time & Labour in attending the said Affair As to your Wisdom & discretion shall seem meet & expedient and your Petition<sup>r</sup> as in all Duty bound shall ever pray, &c.

By his Excellency & Council this Petition, with two accounts exhibited, referred to the Serious Consideration of the House of Burgesses.

JAMES SHURLOCK, Clk. Gen<sup>l</sup> Ass<sup>n</sup>.

Oct. ye 19th, 1693.

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[BLAIR TO NICHOLSON.]

Gosport, April 29, 1693.

Sir: Since my last I have had two from your Hon<sup>r</sup>, one with Copy of ye order for the mony & the other with the Inclosed abt. the black walnut which I will be carefull of; Capt. Wilmot lodges in this place & keeps his chamber & for the most part his bed being much tormented with the Stranguary. He told me how kindly your Hon<sup>r</sup> remembered me. We have had some long & full discourses of Virg<sup>a</sup> to which I find my heart mightily tyed, tho<sup>t</sup> I doubt I shall not find it the same thing it was in your

Hon<sup>rs</sup> time. I am most sensible how happy I am in so true & kind a friend; but if you find any difficulty in prosecuting what you propose in your last, I hope you will not add the trouble of my misfortunes to your own, I am sorry that I suffer in so good company. This place affords no news, the wind being still out of the way, so I take leave at this time & remain S<sup>r</sup>

Your most obliged humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

JAMES BLAIR.

Capt. Wilmot has the misfortune to have about 1,600 pounds of Tob<sup>o</sup> seized at Deal, which he brought over in the Wolfe; he had put it into the Grafton with about thirty of his men who were brought over from the Wolfe to the Elizabeth, he says he never designed to put it ashore, but to give it in presents in the Fleet. He desired me to tell this to your Hon<sup>r</sup>. I fancy for such a small parcell they will not refuse to let him have the benefit of an Entry.

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[BLAIR TO NICHOLSON.]

Plymouth, May ye 19, 1693.

S<sup>r</sup>: I have just now received yours with the Inclosed for my Lady Andros and am at a loss how to express the greatfull sense I have of that continual tract of kindness you have ever showed me; I hope, as I have opportunity to show at least, that I am not unthankful. We have no present news, we were fain to put in here by contrary winds untill the Comodores order for staying out was expired, which was the tenth of this month. I hear now we are to wait for the coming of the great fleet. In all these Intervals of delay, I live ashore that I may give no more trouble to Capt. Townsend than is necessary, which has so drained me that I shall be necessitated to draw again on Mr. Perry.

Our voyage is like to be very tedious to every body, & it is so more particularly to me, as being deprived of the great happiness I proposed to myself in your Honrs. company both at Sea & Land. But I submitt to that wise Providence that has thought fitt for some time to part us & I perswade myself wherever you are God's blessing will attend you for the kindness you have shewed to poor Virg<sup>a</sup>, upon whose account as well as my own I



shall reckon myself ever honored to pray for your Hon<sup>r</sup> & to remain with all sincerity S<sup>r</sup>

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> most humble & obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>,

JAMES BLAIR.

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NOTE.

The Revolution, in 1688, put an end to persecution of the Quakers; though they, together with other Dissenters, remained for many years liable to imprisonment for non-payment of tithes, and labored under various other disabilities. Either the tithes were paid, or the laws in regard to them were not rigorously executed, for there is but little reference to the subject in the various County Court records. Only a thorough examination, however, would authorize one to speak positively.

Mr. Weeks, in his "Southern Quakers and Slavery" (a somewhat misleading title for a general history of the Southern Quakers), has given a very carefully studied and fair history of the Society in Virginia; but there is a question whether he has not exaggerated the actual persecution. There is no doubt that the laws were severe; but there seems good evidence that they were not executed to their full extent, and that the sentiment of the majority of the people were against such severity. As there is no instance of capital and but one of corporal punishment in Virginia for witchcraft, so there are but few authentic instances of severe punishment of the Quakers. Following the English act, Quakers in Virginia were soon allowed to affirm, instead of taking an oath, and in 1699 a law was passed excepting all Dissenters, who were qualified according to the Toleration Act of I William and Mary, from fines for non-attendance at the parish churches. Mr. Weeks endorses Henings opinion that nothing could be more intolerant than to offer exemption provided the Dissenters complied with an act "when not one person in a thousand could possibly know its contents." There seems to be really no foundation for this objection, for it is simply impossible that the numerous men of means and intelligence among the Quakers (such as John Pleasants for instance) would not procure copies of an act so vitally important to them, and make its terms known to their humbler and more ignorant bretheren.

In regard to persecution at a time before the Toleration, Mr. Weeks cites (p. 15) from the General Court records, one instance in which a Quaker was whipped, and another (p. 20) quoting from an author whose theme is, to some extent, the glorification of Quaker sufferings, where George Wilson, about 1661, was cast into a dungeon, and kept within the damp walls until his flesh rolled from his limbs, and, at Jamestown, "he lay down his life a faithful martyr." The objection might be raised that there is no account of there ever having been an underground dungeon in Virginia; but Mr. Weeks, himself, in quoting, expresses a doubt as to the truth of the statement. As a rule, there are no greater sensation-mongers than the writers of Martyrologies in any form. (Of course, reference is not had to Mr. Weeks, but to Bowden.) There is, in addition, the record of one other whipping in Westmoreland county, the reference to which is at present mislaid.

The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, but there is no doubt that religious persecution, rigorously adhered to, can root out a dissenting belief—as, for instance, Protestantism in Spain and Italy. If all breaches of the Virginia laws against Quakers had been punished by fine, it would have been impossible for the Quakers to pay, and if according to the law, non-payment of fines had been followed by imprisonment, the whole of the sect in the Colony would soon have been in jail. But on the contrary, they increased in numbers and prosperity.

That the law against meetings was not executed is plain from numerous instances cited in Mr. Weeks' valuable book. William Robinson (who was hanged next year in Boston), visited Virginia in 1658, and wrote: "There are many people convinced;" William Coale (1661) though reporting persecution, says that "Some were turned to the Lord through his ministry, and many were established in the truth;" Josiah Cole (1660): "I left Friends in Virginia generally very well and fresh in the truth;" George Rolfe (1661): "Many settled meetings there are in Virginia." Elizabeth Hooton and Joane Brocksuppe, who were banished from Boston, came to Virginia. Mary Thomas and Alice Ambrose (1662) say: "In Virginia we have had good service for the Lord \* \* \* \* . Our sufferings have been large among them \* \* \* \* we are now about to

sail for Virginia again." John Burnyeat (1665): "They (the Quakers) have quite forgotten their meetings." There had been a schism among them. William Edmundson (1672): "Held several powerful meetings among them." George Fox (1672) had meetings in Virginia, at Nansemond River (where Colonel Dew, of the Council, and several officers and magistrates attended), at Pagan Creek, in Isle of Wight, at Sumerton, at Widow Wright's in Nansemond ("where many magistrates, officers and other high people came"), at Crickatrough, at John Porters and elsewhere. (Here we have John Porter who was appointed a magistrate in 1672, having a meeting in his own house.) Edmundson (1676) had many meetings at Elizabeth River. John Boweter (1678) held meetings in many places. There were regularly established half yearly meetings in 1682. Some other instances (not quoted by Mr. Weeks) appear in the records of York county. They have been printed in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, I, 91, &c: "The Court of York on Sept. 20, 1665, ordered the sheriff and his deputies to prevent all private and other meetings of 'the turbulent people called Quakers.'" But the order was so futile that the court, on the 20th of October following, complained that the Quakers met in York county oftener than anywhere else. Nay, at that very court, Rev. Philip Mallory, a highly respected minister, produced a letter, which he had received "from Mr. Thos. Bushrod [a prominent citizen and member of the House of Burgesses, 1659-60] whereby he certifies a seeming desyre of a conference to be had with him by the Quakers." Mr. Mallory expresses his willingness and asks the permission of the Court, who, though thinking the conference might be useful, referred the matter to the Governor. After the act of 1659-60, the Quakers were obdurate, and the women were especially zealous in attending "conventacles," which called forth another order from the Governor, especially in regard to them. At a meeting of York Court, August 26, 1661, complaint was made by two witnesses that "several Quakers mett the 26th instant in the woods, amongst which was Mrs. Mary Chisman, and two or three negroes belonging to her husband." The court ordered that Chisman and his wife have notice of the Governor's order, and if they again offended, its penalty, imprisonment, was to be inflicted.

On the same day Rev. Justinian Aylmer testified that Colonel Thomas Bushrod had said that "your deponent and Mr. Philip Mallory, that reverend divine, were a couple of Episcopal knaves, were Anti-Christ, came from the Pope," &c. (This sort of extravagance was one of the causes of the severe laws against the Quakers), and Thomas Iken deposed that Bushrod had "challenged and dared the Magistrates to apprehend the Quakers at their meetings," and that "they would meet on Sunday following and that his wife was usually at their meetings if the weather would permitt." This did not sound as if violent persecution was feared. Colonel Bushrod died, leaving a large estate, and directing that the common prayer of the Episcopal Church should not be read at his funeral.

It is very evident from the instances which have been cited that the law against meetings must have been practically a nullity.

There were doubtless some imprisonments and probably a considerable number of fines; but, as Mr. Weeks shows, these persecutions were sporadic, and dependant on the caprice or greed of the officers of the law. They were infrequent and soon dropped. For instance, John Porter, of Lower Norfolk, who in 1663 was fined for attending a meeting, was in 1672 appointed a justice of the peace. And in 1663, the same John Porter and Mrs. Mary Emperor were sentenced to transportation for attending a meeting; but it is very certain they were not transported. Petty persecutions, such as the presentment by William Randolph and Colonel Thomas Grendon (a mean business for two gentlemen) at Henrico Court, February, 1682-3, of John Pleasants and his wife, as illegally cohabiting together, were no doubt frequent. Of course though every one knew that Mr. and Mrs. Pleasants had been properly married under the Quaker form, and as this form had been recognized by the English Court as legal, many years before, yet the matter promised to be a serious one to them, for the court imposed the enormous fine of £240 sterling upon each of them. They appealed to the General Court, and an order from England in their favor put an end to the case.

So popular were some of the Quakers that John Pleasants, was in 1692, elected a member of the House of Burgesses for Henrico; but as he would not take the oaths was unseated. He,

by the way, with characteristic Quaker prudence, presented his will in court and personally proved it, several years before his death.

There was no doubt much annoyance, and much possibility of serious trouble to the Quakers, before the Toleration Act; but evidently little in reality.

The other leading dissenting denomination, the Presbyterians, included in the little congregations of Makemie and Makie, apparently received full toleration.

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## VIRGINIA GAME, AND FIELD SPORTS.

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### Description of Them by the Botanist Clayton in 1739.

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The following letter which was copied from a letter-book in the possession of a descendant, Mr. Jasper Clayton, of Chesterfield county, Va., was written by John Clayton, of Gloucester county, Va., the distinguished botanist and author of "Flora Virginica" and other works. It is to the steward and manager of an estate at Hawkhurst, county of Kent, England, which John Clayton, barrister at law, of the Temple, who came to Virginia in 1706, and was long Attorney-General, had inherited at his mother's death, and which at his own, in 1737, had descended to his son, the botanist, who at the time of writing and many years later was clerk of Gloucester, and who died at a very advanced age on December 15, 1773. It appears from letters in the book mentioned that Attorney-General Clayton was a brother of Lieutenant-General Jasper Clayton of the English army, who was killed at the battle of Dettington in 1743.

We copy the letter *verbatim et literatim*:

MARCH 21ST, 1739.

*To Mr. Samuel Durrent at Hawkhurst in Kent.*

I received your letter dated the 3d day of January last, with an account of the rents at Michlemas 1737, w'ch I take to be